CURING AND SHAMANISM

(2469-2541)

756 [192] The Washo word da'man'li' has a wide range of meanings which include almost all people with supernatural powers, including curers of several orders. The terms which they use when discussing the subject in English are somewhat more precise and will be used in this paper.

The Washo make a distinction between curers (2594-96) and Indian doctors. The latter, as will be shown, are true shamans whereas the former are somewhat less powerful. Curers appear to be women who have certain powers revealed to them in dreams. Such persons are usually members of what the Washo describe as a "doctor family." An informant described the activities of such a curer:

> "My mother was a curer. She just smoke and talk. You would meet her on the way to town mebbe and say 'I don't feel good' and she'd just sit down and smoke and talk [pray?] a little and then mebbe tell you what was wrong and what you should do.
>
> [755] "Along about the first war I got sick and couldn't make no water at all. My mother smoked and then spread ashes all over my belly and talked some and after that I passed a lot of blood and got better."[1]

Far more important than the curers, however, were the Indian doctors. Such men were never exclusive specialists and were apparently expected to share in the work of hunting and fishing with less gifted men. [177] With the introduction of money by the whites, shamans [436] appear to have approached something like specialization, charging fees of up to twenty dollars a session for their services.

Until the middle 1930's there were a number of shamans among the Washo (Stewart 1944). However, with the introduction of the peyote cult, which among the Washo is concerned with curing, the shaman was superseded. Today only a single Washo practices shamanistic curing. Interestingly enough this man, now 756 115 seventy-five, was an informant of Lowie's in the 1920's, [871] and at that time Lowie described him as a sophisticated young Washo, somewhat mystic and with shamanistic ambitions (Lowie 1939).

This man, Henry Rupert, spent ten years in the Indian school at the Stewart Agency and after graduation worked for a number of years in a printing plant in Reno. When questioned about the old days he was a fair informant, seldom offering more information than was asked for and clearly enjoying the business of making a white man work for every scrap of information. He was also given to dropping subtle hints and waiting with stolid indifference to see if I had been alert. He did not deny his shamanistic practices but was less than willing to discuss them in detail.

[534] His equipment, he admitted (but refused to show me), [237] consisted of a butterfly-cocoon rattle, an eagle-bone whistle, and a feather headband. "I don't really do nothing but help nature," he said. When I replied that only some people know how to help nature he was

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[1] Regular Indian doctors were forbidden to treat members of their own families, a prohibition which appears not to have extended to a non-shamanistic curer.

and status values" as opposed to the subsistence economy which is "the exploitation of the plentiful natural resources available to any industrious individual." Among the Washo material goods flow almost indiscriminately in promoting subsistence and prestige. Washo social prerogatives and status values are intimately intertwined with the exploitation of natural resources.

Cappannari (1960, 140) wrote that "DuBois...makes clear that the 'monies' (that is, dentalia, woodpecker scalps, obsidian blades, and so on) of the Tolowa-Tututni served as a medium of exchange primarily in the prestige economy rather that the subsistence economy. The same applies to the 'monies' of the Shoshoneans." Money in this sense is a counter of prestige, usually items of highly congealed value in the world of social ritual, but not fully explained in terms of food, shelter, or defense. Prestige money is found among the Washo in the case of eagle feathers and fine woven baskets. These have congealed values for purposes of social ritual. They are also more significant in the context of social ritual than in the context of economic actuality, although ritual and economics coincide at many points.

Money is defined by Driver and Massey (1957, 382) as "material which possesses homogeneity, portability, divisibility, durability, and which serves as a medium of exchange, as a store of value, and as a standard of deferred payments." Pinenuts came the closest to being used as a "money" in Washo economy except that pinenuts were not very durable and lacked the compactness to serve as a concentrated store of value. Salt, eagle tail feathers, baskets, and skins were more concentrated in value. The Washo had no regular medium of exchange and no standard of deferred payments. In the definition used here they had no money. Three terms are now used to refer to wealth; bilada is U. S. currency, gidatwadota is a person's belongings, and mêmgiwa is the wealth a person has with which to gamble or "a bet."

Overproduction

In Washo society some economic products were never distributed. This "problem of surplus" existed, in a society where starvation was well known, because storage and transportation were inadequate and trade was poorly developed.

An example is the overproduction of pinenuts. In years with abundant pinenuts, more was gathered than would actually be consumed. Since some nuts would be preserved into the next year this was a stored margin of safety in case the next year's crop was low. If pinenuts were again abundant, the remainder of the old crop that was not consumed was left to rot and the new nuts were gathered. Actually, any single grove of pinon trees will not

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Ki	Kl	Ka	Yo	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	Wd	Ki	AF
1887. Poggum	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1888. MONEY (komitsa)	–	•	•	•	+	+	+	•	+	–	–	–	–	+
1889. Beads: shell disk	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1890. Glass	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
1891. Measuring: around hand	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1891a. With middle finger	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1892. With thumb	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1893. With hand to elbow	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+

TOBACCO AND SMOKING

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Pipe

1895. Tubular bowl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	–	+	+
1896. Of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1900. Convex sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1901. With stem	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1901a. Round bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1902. L-shaped bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•	–	–
1903. Of stone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1904. With stem	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1905. Monitor, of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1906. Stem of: wood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1906a. Bone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
1907. Cane	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1908. Elderberry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1909. Rosewood	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1910. Pipe smoked by: men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
1911. Primarily old men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1912. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1912a. "Doctor"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1913. Pipe passed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

Cigarette

1914. Cane filled with tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1915. Elderberry filled with tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1916. Chewing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Miscellaneous

1921. Smoking any time	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1922. Bedtime	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1923. Occasional only	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1924. At gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1925. By shamans	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1926. As offering	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	+
1927. To spirit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
1928a. Sun lights pipe	–	–	–	•	•	•	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+

NWA [756]

NWA [782]

Tobacco (pui'pume)

1929. Tobacco gathered wild	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1929a. Plots burned to make grow	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
1930. Leaves dried and threshed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1931. Tobacco greased with rabbit fat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–
1931a. Tobacco mixed with another plant	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+

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N 436 177 439 W [434] insisted that bead money was very old among Paiute. Ku: Shell beads obtained from California to use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N 276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes obW [135] tained in mountains near Topaz.

1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N [177 772] 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W [276 756 887] 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N [782] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tōtsikwökwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N [756 782] 1928a. To, Tō: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N 249 824 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu'iBa^{gu}.

1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with Nicotiana.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

N 534

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: +
W [534] (Smith, notes).

1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

N [172 756] 1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N [178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

N [281] 1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyra-
N [178 759] mid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.